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ABSTRACT

Differences in traditions and admission procedures of 6 ivy league schools (Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Columbia, Dartmouth, and Brown) are discussed, along with how these differences affect the flow of Negro undergraduates and the subtle pressures on the Negro student in an ivy league school. The problem of submerged talent and its relation to the ivy league schools is described. It is determined that each college possesses and applies a policy of special attention toward Negro applicants. The affect of a Negro's experience in an ivy league college on the school's ability to attract more Negroes is also discussed in general and by individual school. (SPG)

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NEGROES IN THE IVY LEAGUE

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INTRODUCTION

At first glance it might seem irrelevant to be concerned with the question of Negroes in Ivy League colleges. There have been Negro undergraduates who were almost as "destined" to go to Harvard, for instance, as a Saltonstall or an Adams. No one acquainted with the college environment in the twentieth century would make the mistake of considering every colored Ivy college student a fledgling Booker T. Washington, somewhat awestruck by the majesty of his new surroundings, but deeply conscious of his future mission of raising his people from the depths of ignorance and despair. This image is best drawn in ridiculous language because it simply is not true today--if it was true at any time. Students, we may safely generalize, are most likely to act like students, and the ways in which one is different from another are seldom the result of racially exclusive factors.

But there are reasons for examining the phenomenon of Negroes in the Ivy League. While a Negro student may act entirely like his fellows and may be accepted by them without prejudice or "prejudice-in-reverse," his color itself does in fact set him apart from white students and makes him a worthy subject of study. First, Ivy colleges are not totally isolated from American life and problems of racial discrimination. Indeed, these schools have a significant part to play in the struggle to attain a society in which status is awarded by merit. That is

the importance of a colored graduate of Brown or Yale or Columbia as a denial of the concept of inherent racial inferiority? Does the Ivy League Negro graduate spearhead general acceptance of all Negro graduates in American life?*" Second, the six Ivy schools[#] whose experiences we utilize in this paper do not have the same traditions in respect to colored students, nor do they all take the same approach today in the admissions process. What are these differences and how do they affect the flow of Negro undergraduates? Third, even though the Negro student may act like and be treated like other students, he is probably under subtle pressure in an Ivy League school. What is the nature of this pressure and how has it influenced the performance of colored students? This paper will attempt answers to only the latter two of these questions; the former pair of questions would require a careful and extensive study of attitudes well beyond the practical limitations imposed on this seminar paper. We will discuss our six schools separately in regard to the first question, although the emphasis shall be on Harvard and Princeton since these two universities present the most noticeable contrasts among the group. *will*

* One wonders what effect publicity about Russell B. Sugarmon's Harvard Law School education had on the electorate which rejected him in favor of a seemingly less qualified white man during his attempt to become Water Commissioner in Memphis two years ago.

[#]Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Columbia, Dartmouth and Brown.

SUBMERGED TALENT

While it is true that not every Negro in a "prestige" college got there with the help of miraculous good fortune, it is true that many have come from environments which discourage a majority of the young people raised in them. The problem for the Ivy schools is a relatively simple one of establishing procedures to locate these particularly outstanding boys coupled with the provision of the necessary financial assistance for their college years. The task of discovering especially qualified Negroes is, as we shall see, not to be minimized. But it is actually only a part of a problem of much greater magnitude--that of the greater national utilization of "submerged talent." Although the ways and means involved in harnessing this huge stockpile of potential college material go far beyond the narrow scope of our subject here, inevitably even our Ivy League colleges must recognize their intimate involvement in this national talent hunt. Attention to the elite among Negro college students can be understood and justified only if their relationship to the larger group is clearly expressed. W. E. B. DuBois used to speak of the crucial role of the "talented tenth" in providing race leadership. But in the 1960's we can no longer afford to think in terms either of an elite as small as a tenth, or of a Negro leadership group restricted to concerns of colored people alone.

National needs, indeed, provide the best rationale for the great expenditures necessary if we are to be less wasteful of young intellects. We are constantly told America is not producing enough doctors or engineers or social workers, not to speak

of the huge demand for skilled technical personnel. The problem is not one simply of finding more college students;* the quantity and quality of the facilities available to the students must keep pace with the nation's expanding supply of candidates. But the identification and encouragement of our most intelligent youth, the national talent hunt, must remain an area of crucial importance. One observer, Richard L. Plaut, director of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students has testified that there are admission and scholarship opportunities available for five times the number of Negro students who now qualify for them.¹

Undeveloped and unfound talent, of course, follows regional, ethnic, and class as well as racial patterns. It would be wrong to imply the problem is one of conscious discrimination suppressing the ambitions of potentially able students from barren environments. Instead, the difficulty is in the largely unconscious failure of local communities to provide adequate compensation for the combination of poor lower school preparation, cultural deprivation within the home, and a lack of stimulation for college. As a result, "numbers, various estimated, but surely in the hundreds of thousands of students each year" are effectively prevented from attaining their potential.

*We hear of many colleges which operate well below their optimum capacity. Recently, (February 4, 1962) between Brenda Lee rock and roll records, a New York radio station was heard to advertise the many advantages of attending Nebraska State College!

¹Journal of Negro History, Mar. 1955, p. 145. Interview, Plaut, New York, February 1, 1962.

²Richard L. Plaut, Blueprint for Talent Searching: America's Hidden Manpower (New York, 1957), p. III.

Focusing again on Negro youth, we find that only approximately 4,000 students enter interracial colleges per year, while five times that number go to segregated Negro colleges.³ Although schools such as Fisk, Howard, and Morehouse are highly regarded institutions, only a small percentage of segregated college students live in an environment in which learning comes easily and naturally:

The reason [for the poor learning atmosphere] lies only partly in equipment, training and competence of staff; rather it lies in the intellectual climate or relative lack of it on many campuses. The Negro student does not benefit from the added boosts to learning that come where there is lively intellectual competition and the zest for new ideas and the exchange are normal and taken for granted. It is a difficult matter to establish and maintain such an atmosphere and tradition in the segregated college; only a few have done so. . . . In the final analysis, the system of higher education for Negroes will remain relatively warped and inadequate no matter what happens short of elimination so long as the kingpin in the system--the publicly supported college for Negroes only continues.⁴

Considering the deficiency of the education most Negroes are likely to receive--and even the president of Morehouse College, Dr. Benjamin Mays, supports this judgment⁵--it is reasonable to conclude that of those colored students who acquire a Negro college education a majority in effect remain within the submerged talent group. Thus we are nearly back where we started; if our society is to receive a reasonable intellectual contribution from deprived groups an intensive, conscious effort

³Ibid., p. 3.

⁴Hylan Lewis, "Higher Education for Negroes: A 'Tough' Situation," Phylon, 4th Quarter 1949, pp. 360-61.

⁵"Segregation in education restricts and circumscribes the mind. It puts a limit to free inquiry and investigation." Benjamin E. Mays, "Segregation in Higher Education," Phylon, 4th Quarter 1949, p. 401.

must be made to encourage their most highly qualified individuals to seek entrance into the nation's better colleges. Temporary expedients such as the all Negro colleges should become unnecessary. Comparing present college efforts to recruit scholars unfavorably with their recruiting of good athletes, John V. Monro comments:

In the hard new world of the Sixties we must learn to care fully as much for able young minds and to work just as hard to discover them early and bring them along. We badly need, and we have not yet developed, an effective national strategy for discovering and aiding these young people.⁶

Despite our nation's discouraging progress in ending the waste of intellectual resources, there have been significant organized efforts to aid young students from deprived backgrounds. Since 1948 the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students has counselled Negro (and a few white) high school juniors and seniors in choosing integrated colleges. This organization seeks to match candidates with available openings in Northern colleges by considering not only the students' test scores, desires, and personal character, but also the nature of the reception a particular school would give to Negro students. If necessary, NSSFNS will also give supplementary scholarship aid. In thirteen years of counseling, almost 7,700 Negro boys and girls have been assisted in enrolling in interracial colleges; they have received nearly \$3,000,000 in scholarship assistance, \$50,000 of it directly from NSSFNS.⁷ Important as it found the counseling service to be in locating and advising existing talent,

⁶John V. Monro, "Proposed: A National Talent Hunt," New York Times Magazine, April 23, 1961, p. 37.

⁷Annual Report, NSSFNS, 1960-61, p. 8.

NSSFNS was dissatisfied with the neglect of students who had college potential, but who lacked motivation and preparation to matriculate. It felt talent had to be identified and singled out for special attention much earlier, not in the last years of high school, but rather in the elementary grade years. As a result of this insight, NSSFNS undertook a demonstration project in Junior High School #43, Manhattan, in 1956. In 1957 this effort was expanded into a full-scale Community Talent Search (CTS) familiar to many through its "Higher Horizons" program.* Already similar projects have started in ten or twelve cities and two dozen more are planning such programs,⁸ usually with NSSFNS, CTS advice.

It may seem doubtful that the large subject of submerged talent has much to do with a discussion of Negroes in the Ivy League. In a sense, this is true because some Negroes gain admission to the nation's best colleges even though no one makes an effort to find and encourage them. Harvard, for instance, now occasionally receives a son of a Negro alumnus. But the fact remains that until a greater number of boys emerge from the submerged talent pool who are as qualified as the Negro educational

*"Higher Horizons" includes special testing, courses, guidance, and consultation with parents together with field trips to colleges, the theater, laboratories, etc. A group came to Harvard last year. Dean Munro's comment is worth repeating:

The over-all effect of this program has been to increase sharply the number of boys and girls finishing high school and going on to college. There has also been a virtual elimination of disciplinary problems. During 1959 and 1960 the project was expanded to include sixty-three additional elementary and junior high schools, with some 33,000 pupils.

Munro, op. cit., p. 38.

⁸Opportunity News (NSSFNS-CTS publication), Nov., 1961, p. 1.

elite before them, there will remain an abnormal situation regarding Negroes on almost every campus, including our six Ivy colleges. Negroes are singled out for individual attention both in this paper and by college administrators because they are so under-represented within student bodies. Effective integration--more than "token" integration--on college campuses depends to a large extent upon greater utilization of talent that exists but has long remained hidden.

NEGROES IN THE IVY LEAGUE: TRADITION AND ADMISSION PROCEDURES

There are significant variations in both the traditions of the Ivy League schools in the enrollment of Negro students and their present policies toward admission of members of that race. But they are united in finding a substantial deficiency in the number of colored boys highly qualified for admission. In any one year it is unlikely there will be more than a few "naturals"--sons of Negro professional or businessmen whose backgrounds and academic expectations have conditioned them to think in terms of a liberal education in a prestige college. A majority of the entire Negro student population probably has come from the portion of Negro youth which, against odds, has sought to escape from the punishments of prejudice and the enervating burdens of economic and cultural deprivation. So far the special programs designed to develop and reveal hidden talent have not had dramatic results in terms of greatly expanding the pool of highly qualified candidates suitable for admission to the most academically

rigorous colleges. Indeed, Janice Porter of the NSSPNS foresees only a very slow approach to a "proper quotient" of Negro youth in prestige schools because she feels improvement depends largely upon advancement in political, cultural, and economic spheres.⁹ Furthermore, the standards for admission to the most desirable colleges do not remain static: as competition becomes greater, inevitably a portion of the Negroes who would have been qualified ten or fifteen years ago do not meet the higher standards required of today's freshmen.

It is perfectly normal--and even to be expected--to hear college admissions personnel protest that they pay no more attention to a particular candidate if he be colored than they would if he were white. Occasionally, in fact, they may be unaware that an application comes from a Negro if his race is not disclosed by an interview, within a recommendation, by the location of his residence or school, or by any other of the numerous sources of information contained within his file. Such innocence is rare, however. The colleges in our group of six are aware of almost every one of their Negro candidates and inevitably give each special consideration.

Why can we be conclusive that each college possesses and applies a policy of special attention toward Negro applicants? There are three interrelated reasons. First, Negro students are noticeable if present--and noticeable if absent--to individuals and groups interested in the college, be they "for" or "against" an integrated campus. These persons will force an admissions

⁹Interview, Janice Porter, Feb. 1, 1962.

committee to consider the impact of a Negro on the college and vice versa, even if its inclination is to remain unconscious of the racial factor. To claim it does not have a policy, a college merely expresses a policy of a different sort because results will occur from this method as surely as if the college did go to particular trouble to formulate special plans for Negro admission procedures. Second, our prestige colleges do not accept all applicants, choices must be made, often on rather speculative grounds, which favor one boy and disappoint another. Given this area of choice among many nearly equal intellects, colleges try to select as diversified a student body as possible. Just as they are concerned about a reasonable geographic and economic distribution, so too will they probably regard some racial variation as desirable. In any event, to have different racial or national groups among the students does make a tangible contribution to a varied undergraduate student body. Third, since the number of qualified Negro candidates is limited, if a college is to secure its share it must enter into competition for them. Here the situation can be compared to that of athletes; if the boy is solid academically and is a Negro, the schools are likely to give him the same sort of special attention they would give to a bright football player. If we consider the three factors stated above; the impact of having or not having Negroes on campus, the desirability and possibility of securing a diversified student body, and the scarcity of qualified Negro applicants, it will be clearly evident that each of our six colleges must formulate a general policy applying to Negro applicants. Probably only one

of the six would deny the validity of this assertion, yet that one itself possesses a distinct and consistent policy.

Dartmouth's Director of Admissions, Edward T. Chamberlain, Jr., has protested to the author concerning the emphasis placed upon the word "policy" in the preceding paragraph. His argument is reproduced in full in the Appendix, but briefly, it would substitute for a policy toward color the consideration of color in admissions decisions. He states that because a Negro's race will be considered and not ignored is not to say that there is a policy toward Negroes as a group, any more than accounting for a boy's private school education implies there is a special policy applying to private school candidates. Although the approach is from opposite directions, the end result--be it called policy or not--is much the same. There is agreement that special attention is paid to Negro applications.

Before discussing each college individually, we can answer in general terms the question of why any one of our six colleges is likely to attract more than or less than its share of Negro students. There are three basic factors, two of which we discuss in this part of the paper and a third which will be dealt with in the section concerning the Negroes' experience on the campuses. Briefly, the first two are tradition and admission committee attitude, while the third is the degree of tolerance found in the college's campus environment. It is proper at this point to establish one point unequivocally: none of the Ivy League colleges today discriminate in any way against a Negro applicant. Prejudice in the admissions process is not a factor which will turn a boy away from any of these colleges.

HARVARD

Bowdoin and Amherst must receive credit for being the first white colleges to graduate colored students. But Harvard, soon after the Civil War, did likewise and within a few decades had established a tradition for nondiscrimination unequalled by any of the other larger northern schools.

Its first Negro graduate, Richard Greener, was a member of the Class of 1870.¹⁰ Although Greener himself could pass for white,¹¹ other Negroes soon followed him. Morison later noted that Southerners avoided Harvard after the Civil War because it admitted colored men on the same terms as white, and allowed them to live in the dormitories, participate in sports, and eat in Memorial Hall.¹² Several Negro graduates achieved considerable recognition both at Harvard and in later life. Clement Morgan was class orator in 1890 and a noted Boston lawyer thereafter, while his brilliant classmate, W. E. B. DuBois, became the most outstanding intellectual leader his race has ever known. In 1896 Booker T. Washington was given an honorary degree, just one year after his most bitter Negro opponent a few years later, William Monroe Trotter, graduated with Phi Beta Kappa honors. Another notable colored graduate was Alain Locke, 1908, a Rhodes Scholar and for forty-five years an outstanding professor, writer, and literary critic.¹³ An 1897 graduate, Napoleon Marshall, argued a

¹⁰John Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace (Boston, 1914), p. 136.

¹¹Richard Bardolph, The Negro Vanguard (New York, 1959), p. 88.

¹²Samuel Eliot Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard 1636-1936, (Cambridge, 1937), p. 416.

¹³Eugene C. Holmes, "Alain Leroy Locke: A Sketch," Phylon, Spring 1959, p. 82.

case before the Supreme Court in 1907 while another New York lawyer, Earl Brown, 1924, has become a powerful leader in the New York City Democratic Party. Another graduate, William Harrison, 1932, joined DuBois as an associate of the African nationalist leaders in London prior to World War II when he was a graduate student under Harold Laski.¹⁴ Of course the men cited here make up only a small portion of the group of colored men who graduated before the 1940's. To make a guess, about 165 Negroes matriculated at the College by 1941.¹⁵

Most sources agree that Harvard has been able to promise her Negro undergraduates a campus atmosphere quite free of racial prejudice. Good evidence for this is found in the life of William Monroe Trotter, 1895, who always remained close to Cambridge as a newspaper editor in Boston. Trotter was a fiery "radical" who was so adamant against white prejudice or Negro accommodation to that prejudice that he served a month's term in jail for breaking up a meeting at which Booker Washington spoke and personally dealt President Wilson a tongue-lashing because the President instituted segregation in the Navy and Treasury Departments.¹⁶ Yet this same Trotter found Harvard to be one place where through the years he could always escape manifestations of the Negro's subordinate status in American society.¹⁷ He was never known to be critical of his Alma Mater.

¹⁴George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism (New York, 1956), p. 144.

¹⁵Estimate of Paul Davis in "Fair Harvard," Harvard Guardian, June, 1941, p. 29.

¹⁶Charles W. Puttkammer and Ruth Worthy, "William Monroe Trotter 1872-1934," Journal of Negro History, Oct. 1958, p. 301, 307.

¹⁷William Harrison, "Valiant Trotter," Negro History Bulletin, Nov. 1947, p. 35.

There is some evidence that race relations at Harvard were not so idyllic in the first years of the Twentieth Century. A Negro was temporarily excluded from a freshman dormitory in 1923 by President Lowell* after an English observer had already claimed attitudes had changed from prior days:

Although Harvard again and again asserts its superiority to race prejudice by receiving Negroes amongst its alumni, or conferring degrees on Negroes, . . . there has been a tendency lately rather to tire of this enthusiasm and to profess to find the educated Negro a bumptious and irksome personage in Boston society, from which, indeed, he is being politely but firmly excluded.¹⁸

Nevertheless, Harvard was certainly never blotted with a reputation for discrimination. Instead, some said her colored graduates had been given the key with which to free all Negroes from the bonds of prejudice:

But they [Booker Washington type of Negro leaders] should not stand in the way of those graduates of Yale and Harvard who, by virtue of their grasp of psychological, sociological and economic problems, by virtue of the slashing vigor and poetic beauty of their style, by virtue of their oratorical and literary gifts, are able to command the attention and to challenge the admiration of the world, because of their brilliant leadership of the Negro and their splendid handling of the critics of the race.¹⁹

The conspicuous success of her Negro graduates and her reputation for maintaining an integrated campus community for seventy-five years have served Harvard well in the years since 1943. It is difficult to specify the process by which such a reputation for

*This action raised a storm of protest from Harvard alumni in the Harvard Alumni Bulletin of March, 1923 and in several succeeding issues. Very few letter writers approved of Lowell's decision and it was soon reversed.

¹⁸Sir Harry H. Johnston, The Negro in the New World (London, 1910), p. 476f.

¹⁹William H. Ferris, The African Abroad (New Haven, 1913), p. 365. Perhaps it is significant that Ferris himself was a Yale graduate who lived in Cambridge

fairness does get disseminated within the Negro community, but by one means or another it does.⁴ Undoubtedly Boston's reputation for being "a completely free place"²⁰ for Negroes helped, too. In the post war years, as Harvard has sought to increase her Negro student enrollment, she has not been handicapped by lingering reservations as to her tradition toward members of that minority. The accompanying table will give the reader detailed figures about Negro students at Harvard.[#] Between the classes of 1943 and 1953, the freshman classes averaged just over three Negroes, while since 1954 the average has been over eleven in each class. This indicates a rather sudden, but permanent, increase has taken place; indeed, the size of the 1963, 1964, and 1965 contingents would indicate there has been a second dramatic expansion in recent years--partly due to an influx of African students. Possibly this rapid increase has been at the expense of quality because of the

⁴The author used to visit predominantly Negro high schools when home on vacations. There was a pattern of responses when Harvard was discussed with teachers or parents: "Harvard?--Oh our boys will be all right there."

²⁰Adelaide C. Hill, The Negro Upper Class in Boston (Radcliffe, Ph.D. dissertation 1952), p. 109.

[#]These figures were gathered from Freshman Registers and Harvard Redbook, both of which contain individual pictures of class members as freshmen and as graduates. There are possibilities for error in this method. 1. A very small number never had their picture taken--possibly a Negro or two was among them. 2. Colored students might have been missed because of carelessness--but the "double check" provided by the two books made this unlikely. 3. From a picture it is occasionally difficult to know a man's race--in every case of real doubt such a person was not included in our figures. Perhaps the total might be raised an arbitrary ten per cent to account for all errors. Colored African and Caribbean students are included in the figures.

Harvard

Class	total Fresh	Fresh grad w/ class	trans-in other schools	trans-in other classes	Fresh Grad but not class Year	trans or trans out	total graduating (all sources)
1943	4	4	0	0	0	0	4
1944	5	4	0	0	1 '49	0	4
1945	3	3	0	0	0	0	3
1946	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
1947	3	3	0	0	0	0	3
1948	5	2	0	0	1 '51	2	3
1949	2	2	0	1 '44	0	0	3
1950	4	4	1	1 '51	0	0	6
1951	2	2	1	1 '48	1 '50	0	4
1952	4	4	0	0	0	0	4
1953	3	2	1	0	0	1	3
1954	8	4	1	0	3 '55, '56, '57	1	5
1955	14	10	0	1 '54	1 '51	3	11
1956	11	8	0	1 '54	0	3	9
1957	8	6	0	2 '54, '55	2 '54, '59	0	8
1958	11	6	0	1 '54	1 '54	4	7
1959	8	7	0	3 '54, '57, '58	1 '55	0	10
1960	14	10	0	0	0	4	10
1961	10	5	0	1 '62	3* '62, '63	0	6
1962	10**	-	-	2 '61, '61	0	3*	9*
1963	17**	-	-	1 '61	1* '64	3*	17*
1964	18**	-	-	-	-	2*	18*
1965	19**	-	-	-	-	-	19*

* Assuming projection of current situation without change

** Includes African students: 1962:2, 1963:3, 1964:8, 1965:1

thirty-seven freshmen in the older group only three failed to graduate, but in the more recent class grouping, from 1954 to 1961, the losses were seventeen of eighty-four.* If the Classes of 1960 and 1961 are ignored so as to exclude possible errors, we find that between 1943 and 1959 fourteen of ninety-seven freshmen did not receive degrees, a percentage nearly four times the 4.2% of the whole 1960 senior class which failed to graduate.²¹

It is instructive to know from where the freshmen in the twenty-three classes have come. The former Confederate states and a few of the largest northern cities contain the vast majority of America's Negro citizens. Yet the South, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh combined have sent fewer freshmen to Harvard than Boston and Cambridge which has a comparatively small Negro population. This information would indicate more hidden talent could be uncovered in the South and in cities with large Negro populations. What is lacking, it seems, is a person "on the spot" to be alert for the most intelligent boys as they develop in high school. Cincinnati has sent eight Negro students to Harvard chiefly because the first one influenced several younger friends to follow him.²² Even little Muskogee, Oklahoma has produced two Harvard graduates, more than Toledo, Albany and the whole West Coast combined. Of course, we are dealing with

*For the six originally in the Classes of 1960 and 1961 there is still hope one or more may return and graduate. The permanent record includes only those through the Class of 1959.

²¹John V. Monro, Report to the President, 1960, table, p. 31.

²²Interview, Henry Briggs, Feb. 7, 1962. The popular and successful student in question graduated in 1953. In the next nine years, seven Cincinnatians followed him to Harvard.

HOME AREAS OF HARVARD NEGRO STUDENTS

<u>Area</u>	<u>Number</u>
Cambridge-Boston - - - - -	40
Ex Confederate States - - - - -	21
New York & Vicinity - - - - -	21
Africa - - - - -	16
Washington, D. C. - - - - -	15
Massachusetts (State) - - - - -	9
New York (State) - - - - -	8
New Jersey - - - - -	6
Chicago - - - - -	6
Cincinnati - - - - -	6
Caribbean - - - - -	6
Indiana - - - - -	3
Philadelphia - - - - -	3
Pennsylvania (State) - - - - -	3
Michigan (State) - - - - -	3
Illinois (State) - - - - -	2
Detroit - - - - -	2
West Virginia - - - - -	2
Oklahoma - - - - -	2
Milwaukee - - - - -	2
St. Louis - - - - -	1
Cleveland - - - - -	1
Pittsburgh - - - - -	1
Delaware - - - - -	1
Connecticut - - - - -	1
Kansas - - - - -	1
Ohio (State) - - - - -	1
Oregon - - - - -	1

figures so small that it is hard to assign any city or region a "proper" quota. The South, furthermore, has recently produced a larger proportion of the Negro students. But again we may wonder why some of the most likely areas have produced so few.

Approximately 128 freshmen were public secondary school products, while forty-seven came from private schools.* Recently the private school contingent has been increasing, reflecting the fact that several preparatory schools have started granting scholarships to deprived students. Of the twenty who did not graduate (including 1960 and 1961) five came from private schools. No less than eight of the twenty came from the Boston-Cambridge area, three from Washington, only one from New York, and none from the South.

Since 1939 approximately one of every 140 students has been a Negro. Small as that percentage might seem, the Negro group at Harvard has been larger than that at any other Ivy League institution. What accounts for Harvard's success? We have found that the reputation she gained from her many successful Negro graduates and from her long tradition of equality on the campus have given Harvard a favored status within the Negro community. Without this solid traditional standing, the College would have had many fewer Negro undergraduates, but the factor of tradition alone is not enough to account for the success.

*These figures are not wholly accurate because not all schools fit into one or the other category--i.e., Kingston College, Jamaica, is both public and private. Also, many of the forty-seven private school boys probably went there only one or two years. The percentage for private school entrants in the Class of 1960 was 49.9. Admission and Scholarship Committee, Report to the Dean of the Faculty, 1959-60 (The "Bender Report"), p. 7.

Simply stated, Harvard has received such a large share of the most highly qualified Negro students because she has purposely and systematically searched for them! What, exactly, does this involve? First, it requires an administration which regards racial diversity within the student body as highly desirable even if admission standards must be lowered somewhat occasionally to attain this goal. Second, it requires an energetic admissions committee which understands and uses techniques to locate the best colored candidates. Third, a cooperative alumni body is important. Fourth, there must be enough scholarship funds available to finance boys from deprived economic circumstances.

There are Harvard people who are apprehensive about the value of a diversified student body when some compromises must be made with other admission standards in order to secure the desired variety. However, until recently, admissions work was conducted under the chairmanship of Dean W. J. Bender, who firmly believed in diversity. Since his departure his ideas appear to have remained in force. Although he naturally did not choose to make a specific example of the Negro student, we may assume a colored boy could have fitted quite well into the final paragraph of Mr.

Bender's Report:*

In other words, my prejudice is for a Harvard College with a certain range and mixture and diversity in its student body--a college with some snobs and some Scandinavian farm boys who skate beautifully and some bright Bronx premeds, with some students who care passionately if unwisely (but who knows) about editing the Crimson or beating Yale, or who have an ambition to run a business and make a million, or to get elected to public office, a college in which not

*A Harvard professor argued that Mr. Bender once used pictures of applicants to the disadvantage of Negro candidates. The author and several other observers believe the professor is mistaken on this matter.

all the students have looked on school just as preparation for college, college as preparation for graduate school and graduate school as preparation for they know not what. Won't even our top-one-per-cent be better men and better scholars for being part of such a college?²³

It has become an open secret among students of Harvard's admissions procedures that in order to secure a well-rounded freshman class, the Committee is sometimes willing to "take a chance" on an interesting boy whose marks or test scores have not been impressive. As for Negro students in particular, an informed observer commented: "Without question Harvard does go out of its way . . . [and] will take a boy with inadequate test scores if there are indications he will develop."²⁴ To a degree, of course, Harvard simply distrusts College Entrance Examination Board scores, secondary school class ranking, and other supposed indicators of a boy's potential: "Too many high-scoring boys from top high schools, public and private, with 'good' family backgrounds and living in the 'best' suburbs, have had disappointing records in college."²⁵ Thus, to compile a class only from the seemingly most intelligent candidates is itself a risk; to gamble on a few boys whose achievement potential appears to be as high as their more fortunate fellows actually is not such a great gamble after all.

The Harvard admissions officers have diligently utilized what techniques are available to contact many promising Negro

²³Bender Report, op. cit., p. 73.

²⁴Interview, Porter.

²⁵Robert P. Crossley, "The Secret of Getting into Harvard," McCall's, July 1961, p. 134.

candidates. When possible, these men themselves will visit high schools which are usually ignored by academic talent scouts in the hope there might be a "sleeper" who could qualify for admission. But the simplest and yet most successful technique has been the result of a very close relationship between Harvard and the NSSFNS. This organization gives Harvard a list of the twenty or thirty boys among its counselees whom it has advised to apply to Harvard.²⁶ The College, in turn, follows up with a letter expressing the hope he will apply--without, of course, making a promise of admission. With the important first contact established, Harvard has a good chance to secure an able colored student who might otherwise have settled for a lesser college. About one-half of the Negro group at Harvard was originally informed about the College by the NSSFNS.

The third requirement, that of a cooperative alumni body, is important in both a negative and a positive sense to Harvard's desire for a larger group of Negro freshmen. If regional alumni organizations actually opposed campus integration, no doubt the admissions policy would nevertheless remain as favorable as it is now. In fact, they do not. Occasionally, Harvard does find it has alumni in the South who will refuse to recommend a highly qualified colored boy, but their approval is unnecessary. Perhaps a few old graduates might express their feelings by eliminating their contribution to the annual fund drive, but Harvard would

²⁶Interview, Porter.

survive somehow!*

At the most, alumni opposition to Negro students causes inconvenience to the Admissions Committee which must find an alternative way to secure a pre-admission interview.

The positive aspect of alumni cooperation involves the work of the Harvard Club Schools and Scholarship Committees. Bender has credited them with being the biggest single factor in Harvard's relative gain in drawing power among the highly selective college group.²⁷ Naturally the Committees seek the best boys regardless of race, and many times they have originally located or encouraged the aspiration of a Negro boy. There are a few alumni, too, who perhaps are especially alert for an able member of a minority group because such a successful candidate offers them more of the satisfaction of discovering a "diamond in the rough."

Scholarship funds sufficient to insure that every boy good enough to be admitted can be given the help he needs to attend college is the ideal goal of every school. Even Harvard has not attained such a level of wealth, but it can be said that no boy Harvard feels will make a specially significant contribution to the College will ever be turned away because his family has a low income. Thus, the final obstacle to the admission of most qualified Negro boys is removed. It is interesting that while about one quarter of all undergraduates receive aid their freshman year, ninety percent of the Negroes in the Class of 1965 are

*Only approximately 25% of the alumni contribute to the yearly drives. The financial aspect can be a subject for humor at Harvard, but at least one Ivy school cannot take its alumni giving so lightly.

²⁷Bender Report, op. cit., p. 19.

recipients of scholarships, several of them in the \$2,000 range.²⁸

Most scholarships, of course, go to talented boys who are poor, but who have had the benefit of a stable home, a good high school education, and a background not devoid of cultural influences. Harvard, however, since 1959 has had the tremendous advantage of an annual \$50,000 "gamble fund" contributed by an anonymous New Yorker specifically for the benefit of the intelligent young man who has been deprived culturally and socially as well as economically.²⁹ The money is used for the underprivileged of all races, but the eighteen Negroes helped in the three years form a majority of the total group of beneficiaries. A small portion of the money is used to send the students to Andover for the summer before their freshman year, or, in a few cases, to give them a whole year at that preparatory school. Since several Southern Negroes have been chosen, the summer program gives some boys their first experience with integration, as well as introducing them to a demanding academic life.

One obvious question remains to be answered. If Harvard wants more Negro students than it now has and if it really has been energetic in removing any possible barrier to their enrollment, why has their number just recently become a mere one percent of the total student body? To an extent there is a tendency for some not to apply at all because they think Harvard is "out of the question" for academic or financial reasons. Others may shy away

²⁸Ibid., p. 2. and Interview, Briggs. Some of the scholarships are from non-Harvard sources.

²⁹Crossley, "Secret of Harvard," op. cit., pp. 45, 134-36.

from the \$20 or \$25 it takes to make an application and secure the necessary records. The main part of the answer, however, seems to lie in the nation's overall failure to discover and develop submerged talent. Harvard does manage to enroll a significant proportion of the few highly qualified Negro boys available. Dramatic progress, however, will depend upon a much larger pool of candidates, especially since other colleges regarded as the academic peers of Harvard are likely to become more effective in their efforts to build student bodies with a larger representation of Negroes.

PRINCETON

A greater contrast to Harvard's tradition toward Negroes than that of Princeton could hardly be imagined.* Well known are the stories of Southern students sadly packing their bags to go home at the onset of the Civil War. More often forgotten is the fact that after the War a steady procession of Southern scholars fully restored Princeton's reputation--which survives to this day--as the "North's best Southern University." Southern influence itself, however, is not necessarily a full explanation for Princeton's long refusal to admit even the most highly qualified colored student. It is difficult to say today how conscious Princetonians were of the implications of their school's discriminating policy or if they foresaw increasing pressures against it. Segregation was the natural thing for men of these older generations and equal opportunities for education seemed wholly

*No source is given for many of the observations in this section on Princeton. Usually they originate from the many personal conversations the author has had on the subject since 1955.

irrelevant. None of the late 19th or early 20th century histories of Princeton make the slightest reference to Negroes; the concept of the "Princeton Gentleman" could hardly digest Jews or Italians, not to speak of colored men. We are told that Woodrow Wilson, when he was President of Princeton, was supposed to have laid down an unwritten rule against Negroes ever being admitted.³⁰ On this matter, unlike that of the eating clubs, Wilson was as conservative as the men who controlled the University before and after his regime.

It was not true that Princeton was unconscious of its responsibilities for public service. She sent a constant stream of missionaries overseas, while at home she contributed to the faculties of Negro colleges such as Hampton, Fisk, and Lincoln. But good Christian endeavors toward the "lesser breeds," with all the earnest paternalism such efforts entailed, could not gain Princeton immunity from criticism about her own color line. By an ironic coincidence, perhaps the most versatile and talented Negro America has ever known, Paul Robeson, was born and spent his boyhood within two blocks of Nassau Hall. We may legitimately speculate that his later bitterness at white America was a logical extension of his betterness toward white Princeton and its University:

The Princeton of my boyhood (and I don't think it has changed much since then) was for all the world like any small town in the deep South. . . . Rich Princeton was white: the Negroes were there to do the work.³¹

³⁰Davis, "Fair Harvard," op. cit., p. 31.

³¹Paul Robeson, Here I Stand, (New York, 1958), p. 18.

By maintaining against Robeson her prejudices, Princeton turned away a football and baseball star, a tremendous singer, a brilliant student and a leader of his class at Rutgers. But even more it added significant force to the University's reputation for intolerance, a reputation that has since spread widely within the Negro community. If Princeton is to compete with Harvard in the 1960's for its share of the limited group of highly qualified Negro boys, it must do so while shouldering the burden of a reputation for having institutionalized racial discrimination.

In 1943 the editor of the campus newspaper the Princetonian, Francis L. Broderick,^{*} attacked Princeton's color line in a series of editorials and public debates. His student critics seemed to outnumber his supporters, but within a year he had won his point, for two Negroes were permitted to enroll. The end of the War resulted in a flood of returning veteran students. By upsetting, temporarily, the traditional homogeneity of the student body, the veterans created an atmosphere on campus that was fairly favorable to minority group members. For a few years in the late 1940's a committee of the Liberal Union sought to increase Negro enrollment by writing to high schools informing them that Princeton would now accept Negroes.^{**} With the arrival of a new Director of Admissions, William Edwards, in 1945, the college eliminated the last traces of discrimination in the admissions process. But these favorable circumstances induced only a few

^{*}Broderick later wrote an excellent biography of W. E. B. DuBois (Stanford, 1959).

^{**}This technique was of doubtful value for it remained too impersonal. One eager applicant for admission proved to be a girl!

Negroes to apply for admission. Already Princeton was experiencing a fact which has plagued her ever since: if a Negro boy is good enough to be admitted to Princeton, he is likely to go to Harvard or one of the other Eastern colleges with a long history of integrated student bodies.

By 1956 approximately fifteen Negroes had attended Princeton. As a group they seem to have done well; one was a basketball team captain, another went to Harvard Medical School, while a third is now in the Foreign Service. An observer of the 1948-1952 years recalls that they made no striking impression on the white students, favorable or unfavorable, except for one very popular boy who drowned while still an undergraduate.³² Indeed, it appeared in the mid-1950's that Princeton had overcome the difficult initial barriers to attracting Negro students and that within a few more years it would be entirely normal to see colored boys on the campus.

But something happened--probably it was just a quirk of chance--no Negroes were in the Classes of 1957, 1958, or 1959. A small group of white students became concerned and, with the help of the NSSFNS and the restrained blessing of the Admission Committee, earnestly canvassed their home area high schools for qualified Negro prospects. Their hopes were modestly rewarded when two Negroes joined the Class of 1960, three the Class of 1961 and two the Class of 1962. After this personal solicitation lapsed into inactivity, only four more Negroes entered the most recent

³²Interview, Joseph Bolster, Jr., Feb. 2, 1962.

three freshman classes.* It is impossible to say now whether this "second start" will be more permanent than the first. Princeton now has six African students from Mr. David D. Henry's African Scholarship program whose presence may be of significant help in giving roots to the tradition of Negro Princetonians.

Princeton's long tradition as an exclusively white college is, even today, the outstanding reason why she does not attract a reasonable proportion of the best colored students. The wealthy, homogenous nature of the town of Princeton and the sizable contingent of Southern students have acted as allied deterrents to Negro applicants. But each of these factors has steadily become less influential in the years since the end of World War II. Princeton's unfortunate "country-club" reputation fades as her percentage of preparatory school graduates drops and the students' College Board scores rise. The town loses its exclusive character as a small army of middle-class organization men arrive to staff nearby industries and research projects. And the Southern boys come from a new generation which would be embarrassed to flaunt the prejudices of their fathers. Yet, as we have seen, very few Negroes have enrolled, there is no certainty the progress that has been made so far will not be lost in the future.

Where does the responsibility lie? Princeton has failed to enroll a reasonable share of the most highly qualified Negro students because she has refused to make a special effort to encourage Negro applicants. An effort of this kind is usually

*One of these four came despite an offer of a large scholarship from Harvard. He has given Princeton one of its few victories in direct competition with other institutions.

necessary no matter what a school's past record toward Negroes has been, in Princeton's case it is absolutely indispensable. To "catch up" with her sister Ivy League colleges, Princeton either must compete more successfully for the outstanding boys who intend to go to one of the prestige colleges or, if such competition is too difficult, she must locate more boys who otherwise would have remained undiscovered.* The former effort should be easier to make than the latter, although Princeton could easily do something on both simultaneously.

Princeton's present admission procedures which affect the flow of Negro applications can be discussed within the same four-point framework used in the section on Harvard. The first point concerns the Princeton administration's attitude regarding racial diversity within the student body and its willingness to lower admission standards slightly if necessary to help secure that diversity. The concept of a diversified student body has been as popular at Princeton in recent years as it has at Harvard; in fact, the Princeton Alumni Weekly³³ recently published the condensation of the "Bender Report" which had appeared in the Harvard Alumni Bulletin, entitling it "The Administrator's View" (as opposed to a faculty view). There is good reason to believe, too, that Princeton regards racial variety as just as valid as any other form of student diversity. President Robert F. Goheen recently commented:

*Essentially this is what Princeton, in cooperation with other schools, has done in locating talented African students. She can secure as many Africans at present for which she has places.

³³Feb. 16, 1962, pp. 9-11, 16-17.

I strongly favor the admission of well-qualified Negro students to Princeton, as I do that of other students who bring to the campus a variety of religious, racial, and cultural backgrounds.³⁴

Admission Committee members usually contend that no favor is given to an individual because he comes from a group which is underrepresented on campus. Whether this policy actually is applied in the case of Negroes is hard to say. One Negro in the Class of 1960 definitely received more sympathetic treatment than might have been expected on account of his record, but the next year another boy was turned down who later graduated from Yale. The former student did flunk out and the Committee has been wary of taking the same risk again:

Rather than discriminate against the colored student, there is more of a danger here of us leaning forward to accept him and then running the risk that he won't be able to remain here. When a Negro student flunks out here, it is a tougher loss for us than, for example, a John Jones.³⁵

Perhaps the common thread which unites the few borderline decisions Princeton has had to make about Negro candidates in recent years is that a mild scholastic risk will be taken if the boy's character is thought to be "solid." This distinction, of course, reflects the belief that a Negro may experience some prejudice on the campus.

The second point of the discussion concerns the work of the admission officers. Apart from her reluctance to admit a Negro who does not have an outstanding record, Princeton suffers in competition with other prestige schools by an almost complete refusal to look for highly qualified Negro students from segregated

³⁴Princeton Alumni Weekly, Jan. 26, 1962, p. 14.

³⁵Ibid., p. 14. The speaker is an unidentified University officer.

or predominantly Negro high schools. It is very probable that no person officially connected with Princeton has ever visited a single all-Negro school on a recruiting mission similar to those made yearly to a number of largely white secondary schools. Indeed, the Committee has appeared to be wholly indifferent to Princeton's reputation in the Negro community. It has acted as if a history of discrimination would be forgotten by everyone as soon as the first Negroes were admitted. It has failed to take advantage of opportunities to create an image of Princeton as a non-discriminating community of scholars. As we shall see shortly, this may not have been due entirely to careless oversight.

At one time in 1956 and 1957, the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students and the Admission Committee began to develop a good working relationship. Each had a young staff member interested in Princeton becoming more attractive to Negro students. But when it was arranged for the Director of the NSSFNS and the Director of Admissions to meet at a luncheon, most of the progress that had been made was lost, for the two men argued rather heatedly. Thereafter, the NSSFNS seldom counselled a boy to apply to Princeton and the Committee never requested information about possible candidates. Ironically, Mr. Goheen has served on the NSSFNS's Advisory Board of College Presidents since he became President of the University in 1957.*

*In a conversation with the author, Mr. Goheen once thoroughly balled up NSSFNS's name. He has done the same with the NAACP, calling it the "N.A. double-C.P." It seems he simply is not much interested in racial questions and would like to see Princeton avoid them whenever possible.

The third part of our discussion of the admissions process involves the alumni. It is assumed by many that Princeton's alumni body is one of America's most conservative institutions. However, it would be a mistake to believe her alumni could keep, or would desire to keep, Princeton from achieving more than token integration. The Admission Committee in at least one instance refused to heed the pleas of a Southern alumni group not to admit a local Negro, and more liberal alumni have been known to express their concern about Princeton's slow progress toward an inter-racial campus. Generally it can be said that the alumni have been as reluctant as the administrators to make any special effort to interest Negroes in Princeton. The role of the Alumni Schools Committee in assisting the admissions officers is as important as that of its counterpart at Harvard, but its representatives are not likely ever to have been asked to visit high schools in Negro neighborhoods.

It would be wrong to neglect the part Princeton's dependence on alumni for financial assistance may play on her policy toward Negro students. Princeton annually receives approximately \$1,500,000 from more than seventy percent of her alumni, even while raising over sixty million dollars in the recent capital fund drive. Her endowment is smaller than either Yale's or Harvard's and she needs this money to balance her budget. The contributions are so important that the administration would certainly avoid, if possible, antagonizing any alumnus. To many older and wealthy alumni the "old Princeton" is the object most worth preserving. If rising costs make Gothic architecture impossible in the 1960's, is it not possible for Princeton at least

to show respect for the "old Princeton" contributors by not forcing social changes at a faster pace? This is speculation, but it may be valid.

The final part of this section on admissions concerns the availability and use of scholarship funds. Princeton is currently able to give scholarship assistance to one student in every three, in addition to liberal loan and work programs.³⁶ Negro students have usually received generous assistance although Princeton almost never receives an application from a boy who is totally without family funds. In 1957 she did admit a son of a New Jersey tenant farmer with a full tuition-room-board scholarship, but Amherst offered the same with additional expense money and he went to that institution.*

Before closing this section on Princeton's traditions and admissions procedures toward Negro students, it would be well to say that the situation may not be as static as it would seem to be from this account. Negroes do visit the campus; for instance a group from the "Higher Horizons" program has made the trip to Princeton from New York. For several years Princeton has had a Negro faculty member, a Shakespearian scholar. More ominous was a public statement issued in January by thirteen members of an undergraduate Woodrow Wilson School conference. This statement recognized Princeton's non-discriminatory handling of applicants, but criticized her failure to make this policy known to qualified

³⁶W. Bradford Craig, "You Can Afford to Send Your Children to College," Princeton Alumni Weekly, Feb. 23, 1962, p. 6.

*He graduated Phi Beta Kappa and is now a graduate student in research chemistry.

Negroes. It established a goal for the class of 1967 (to be admitted during 1963) of at least two percent American Negroes. Since this would immediately require approximately a tenfold increase in Negro students, the goal is presently unrealistic. In addition, by proposing what in effect would be a quota, the group left itself open to attack from President Goheen for caring more about "social statistics" than for "individuals as persons."³⁷ Nevertheless, the protest the group made may stimulate more widespread interest in Princeton's future as an integrated college. Until now few Princetonians have expressed the hope that there be a vigorous effort to increase the Negro student representation. But more may come to believe that action is necessary if their college is to be a center where whites and Negroes regard each other quite naturally as fellow students and friends.

YALE

In many respects Yale stands midway between Princeton and Harvard regarding its approach toward Negro students. Its traditions toward the Negro race, however, are very similar to those of Harvard. Yale graduated her first Negro in 1874, while in the year of 1892-1893 at least four Negroes were enrolled.³⁸ As we have seen, William Ferris placed Yale and Harvard together as the source of the greatest Negro leaders.* In 1941 an observer noted that Yale had always had "quite a few" Negro students, but he added that in the 1930's there had been only two or three.³⁹ Indeed, a

³⁷Alumni Weekly, Jan. 26, 1962, p. 14.

³⁸Robert A. Warner, New Haven Negroes (New Haven, 1940), p. 78, and Ferris, op. cit., p. 806.

*See p. 14. ³⁹Davis, "Fair Harvard," op. cit., p. 31.

study made for Yale's Institute of Human Relations in 1940 admitted that while no department officially practiced discrimination, Negro students had "had diverse experiences difficult to interpret."⁴⁰

Yale's reputation in Negro communities across the country was greatly enhanced by Levi Jackson's captaincy of the football team in 1949. Even eight or ten years later the association of Negro football captain-Yale University was remembered among Negroes in Chicago and very likely in other cities, too.⁴¹ In the late 1950's, however, the Negro student was almost as rare at Yale as he was at Princeton.⁴² In recent years, it has been estimated that of the twelve or fifteen Negroes who apply yearly, about a third gain admission.⁴³ Thus Yale has not managed to keep pace with Harvard recently, but owns a tradition toward the racial minority which is nearly as strong as that of the Cambridge institution. Her traditions are incomparably stronger than those of Princeton, but like Princeton, her present level of integration can best be described as "token."

⁴⁰Warner, op. cit., p. 279.

⁴¹Robert Ramsey, Jr., Yale's Director of Admissions, believes the Jackson image has by now nearly completely faded. (Interview, Feb. 21, 1962). Nevertheless, traditions or memorable events retain their influence for a long time, and it would not be surprising if several more Negro boys first thought of Yale because someone remembered Jackson had gone there.

⁴²Figures secured from pictures in the Yale Senior Bluebook are: 1955----2, 1956----4, 1957----1, 1958----0, 1959----1, 1960----3, 1961----4.

⁴³Interview, Miss Nellie Elliot, Feb. 21, 1962. Miss Elliot is a member of the admissions group.

The colored community in the city of New Haven lies socially and economically somewhere between the Negro communities in Princeton and in Boston-Cambridge. This factor has important effects on the ability of the schools to compete for the best Negro candidates, both because the local area itself may contribute qualified applicants, and because Negroes from other localities are likely to consider the congeniality of the colored community near to the college. Yale is not unlike other prestige colleges in seeking a diversified student body. More than just a geographical spread, she seeks "diversity of talent and interest--boys with the unusual flair."⁴⁴ Similarly, Yale includes Negroes as one important ingredient within a balanced student body. It is doubtful, however, that Yale compromises her standards in the case of a Negro applicant. One case records the experience of a Negro who was first in his class of 500 at an integrated school, captained the second best basketball team in his state, and was president of the Student Council. But his College Board scores were in the 400's, and Yale decided not to take the chance that he would survive academically.⁴⁵ In fact, Yale's outlook toward Negro students is marked by a strong element of conservation. Miss Elliot could not think of any Negroes who had flunked out of Yale in recent years. Because "it would be so much worse for a Negro to fail," the Committee is particularly concerned about picking the "right boy."⁴⁶

⁴⁴Katharine Kinkead, How an Ivy League College Decides on Admissions (New York, 1961), p. 27. The words are quoted from Arthur Howe, Jr., former admissions dean.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 74-75.

Yale has been self-critical of her limited success in locating the very able boy from out-of-the-ordinary environments.⁴⁷ She is confident, moreover, that greater effort will help alleviate this short-coming and that the discovery of hidden talent is a goal of signal importance. Yale has cooperated with the NSSFNS, almost as closely as has Harvard, as a part of this effort. She encourages her alumni to look for future Yale men from heretofore unrecognized sources. The admissions officers themselves are not afraid to visit high schools of the underprivileged or to hold New York City interviews in the Boys Club instead of within the culturally imposing environs of the Yale Club. And, finally, she has encouraged a group of Yale undergraduates who give their time to tutor a few potential Negro Yale candidates from the New Haven area.

Yale is more likely than either Harvard or Princeton to admit a student without providing the scholarship or loan funds he needs to attend. She also tends to place less emphasis on need as a governing criterion for assistance than would her two sister institutions. The NSSFNS feels that Yale is less flexible than other schools; instead of granting aid as necessary after admitting a young man, she will originally consider the applicant's financial condition along with his personal and intellectual qualities. These factors are all likely to work against Negroes insofar as they more frequently are the victims of deprived economic and educational backgrounds. Nevertheless, this very strictness in

⁴⁶Interview, Elliot.

⁴⁷Yale Alumni Magazine, Nov. 1957, p. 7.

the admissions process contributes to assuring Yale that Negroes who can survive it are also quite likely to survive the four undergraduate years.

DARTMOUTH

The first Negro to attend Dartmouth graduated in 1828, forty-two years prior to Harvard's first colored graduate. This student, Edward Mitchell, was admitted only because the students voted to urge the trustees to reverse their earlier decision denying him entrance.⁴⁸ However, by the 1850's, it was the administration of President Nathan Lord which insisted that Dartmouth's doors remain open to colored students.⁴⁹ Thereafter, Dartmouth remained perhaps the most indomitable of our Ivy League colleges toward those who might have urged her to discriminate on account of race.

But Dartmouth has never attracted many Negroes. Ten classes graduating in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for instance, contained only eight colored men, three from one family.⁵⁰ Between 1950 and 1958 Dartmouth graduated an average of less than three Negroes every year. The present Director of Admissions, Edward T. Chamberlain, Jr., comments: "Actually we don't seem to have any large numbers of negro candidates. I wish we had more."⁵¹ Several African students have been placed in

⁴⁸ Leon B. Richardson, History of Dartmouth College (Hanover, 1932), vol. I, p. 381.

⁴⁹ Ibid., vol. II, p. 478.

⁵⁰ 1868----0, 1908----0, 1911----0, 1912----0, 1915----3, 1916----1, 1917----0, 1918----3, 1920----1, 1922----0. From the Dartmouth Aegis available in Weidner Library.

⁵¹ Letter to author, Mar. 6, 1962, p. 1.

Dartmouth, but this innovation will not have an immediate effect on American Negro applications since it has long been clear colored students were perfectly welcome on campus anyway. The difficulty most likely arises from Dartmouth's isolation from Negro communities. The Negroes who enroll in Columbia or Yale or Harvard may well do so in part because they know that within the communities surrounding them there are many others of their race. To move to Hanover, New Hampshire for four years, far away from the comforting confines of home where most of his associations have been with Negroes, may well be more of a psychological risk than many Negro boys will take.

Like her fellow Ivy institutions, Dartmouth desires a diversified student body. Negroes, in effect, receive the same special consideration which would be granted to an alumnus' son.

Mr. Chamberlain comments:

I suspect that in actual practice we bend over backwards to try to help qualified negro students with respect to admission and to financial aid; always recognizing, of course, that they have to present at least an adequate preparatory background and show adequate academic potential in order to assure us that they have at least a chance of weathering the academic storm here.⁵²

Although Dartmouth does not yet have the advantage of an alumni schools committee program which would rival those of the schools previously discussed, the College's admissions officers to have a close working relationship with the NSSFNS. When the New York organization sends Dartmouth a list of its counselees to whom Dartmouth has been recommended, these officers "go out of our [their] way to send them material and encourage their applications."⁵³ The director of NSSFNS's counseling-placement service

⁵²Ibid., p. 1.

⁵³Ibid., p. 1.

was a 1952 Dartmouth graduate, although it is not meant to imply that is a major reason for the friendly relationship.

The plight of Dartmouth--possessing the will and desire to achieve more than token integration without possessing adequate means to locate enough well-qualified Negro boys--suggests one of the proposals we shall discuss later: a joint effort to discover and allocate among our prestige colleges talent from deprived environments. About Dartmouth's isolation nothing can be done, but if the future brings a national improvement in race relations, isolation itself need not be a hindering circumstance.

COLUMBIA

Columbia has long welcomed Negroes to her campus, but, just as at Dartmouth, this racial minority has not greatly expanded its representation since 1945. Between 1945 and 1961, fifty colored students graduated, no less than twelve of them in 1953.⁵⁴ Of the fifty it is striking that only eleven came from outside of New York or New Jersey, just one of which came from a former Confederate state. The number of Negroes accepted into the most recent freshman classes has increased somewhat as has the number coming from outside of the New York Metropolitan Area.⁵⁵

Columbia seeks to build a diversified student body when she selects a new class in the spring. The goal of diversity puts no special premium on Negroes as opposed to whites with unusual backgrounds. Apparently there is no feeling within the administration

⁵⁴ From the Columbian's senior pictures. The same possibility for error exists here as it did in the case of the Harvard statistics, except that the cross check with freshman pictures was not made in the research for Columbia of the author.

⁵⁵ Interview, John Wellington, April 3, 1962.

that there is any important reason to attempt to increase the colored student population. Admissions officers will visit predominantly Negro high schools, but only if the prospects for locating talent there are as good as they are at an all-white school which qualifies for a visit.⁵⁶ Like Princeton, Columbia has only slight contact with the NSSFNS and is seldom steered to an outstanding candidate by that organization. Scholarship help is disbursed for the most part after the class has been admitted, although sometimes the decision on admission is influenced by a boy's financial disability,⁵⁷ in which case a colored boy is likely to be at a disadvantage.

New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts all have state anti-discrimination laws which forbid the use of pre-admission photographs by colleges within their boundaries. Despite these laws, our Ivy colleges almost always succeed in learning which of their candidates are colored, and their admissions decisions are somewhat influenced by that factor. Yet Columbia may be called a partial exception to the rule because more than any of the other six schools, Columbia does ignore the question of race. Columbia does not weigh the factor of race as heavily as do the other colleges. Not only does she fail to search specifically for a larger number of qualified Negro students, she does not even assume the aggressively neutral, but self-conscious, posture which is noticeable in the case of Princeton. Columbia, unlike Princeton, does not have a racial situation which appears to be unsettled. No one doubts that Columbia is open to colored

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid.

applicants and the University is confident that a reasonable proportion of the best qualified Negro candidates will naturally gravitate to Columbia. But to say the College does not make an effort to seek Negroes specifically is not to say there is absolutely no weight placed upon the factor of color once the boy has applied. Race is one of the many considerations influencing the admissions decision in Columbia's case, as with the other Ivy colleges, and color itself would help the boy somewhat. Thus, with diversity a goal and color a consideration during the selection process, Columbia, too, has a policy which applies favorably to Negro candidates.

BROWN

"Into this Liberal Institution youths shall and may be freely admitted to the Equal Advantages, Emoluments and Honors . . . and shall receive a like fair, generous and equal Treatment during their Residence."⁵⁸

Brown's first Negro graduate attended classes during the 1870's and before the end of the century, several more had done the same. The most successful of these was John Hope, later President of Morehouse College and permanent president of his Brown Class of 1894. His biographer attested to the liberal spirit prevailing then: "Whatever hardships he suffered during the next four years, none of them was imposed by Brown."⁵⁹ But like the other Ivy colleges, Brown's percentage of Negro students remained minute during the first four decades of the twentieth century. In those years few were concerned with higher education for Negroes and most of those who were believed the Negro colleges could answer their needs.

⁵⁸Brown University Charter of 1764.

⁵⁹Ridgely Torrence, John Hope, (New York, 1948) p. 91.

Today there are eighteen Negro undergraduates at Brown. Their distribution among the four classes is interesting. Nineteen sixty-two has seven, but 1963 only one, and 1964, two. When the drop between 1962 and 1963 was noticed in 1959-1960, the Brown administration took action to reverse the change.⁶⁰ This action could not have immediate results reflected in the 1964 class, but it did in the Class of 1965, which contains eight Negroes.

Brown's decision to seek out qualified colored students may be explained by a conventional desire for a diversified student body and a stronger than usual interest in locating submerged talent. But what really gives the decision force is the conviction of several leading administrative officers that without this special effort, few qualified Negroes will apply--the problem will not take care of itself. The effort incorporates several features. Close ties to the NSSFNS are utilized. In the past two years, sixteen of seventeen NSSFNS counselled boys who completed applications have been admitted and necessary scholarship help granted to them. Admission officials have started visiting all-Negro high schools and have made a point of asking at integrated schools if there might be a particularly able colored boy there. And alumni have been encouraged to expand their searches "across the tracks" where a potential Brown student might be discovered. Today it is possible to say there is "no more favored group than the Negro."⁶¹

⁶⁰ Interview, Lloyd Cornell, April 20, 1962.

⁶¹ Ibid.

A few lessons may be learned from the Brown experience. First, a carefully conceived and executed plan to locate and attract Negro students can have noticeable effects, and probably would even if the college's traditions were not so liberal as are Brown's. Second, the energy of one man in a strategic position, in Brown's case Lloyd Cornell of the admissions committee, can be enough to launch such a program. Third, the fear of excessively harmful reactions should a Negro boy flunk out could paralyze a college's effort to diversity its racial content. Brown avoids this fear by expecting her submerged talent boys to have somewhat greater academic problems. Fourth, Mr. Cornell agrees with Dean Monro at Harvard that special efforts will have to be made to encourage Negro applicants until the Negro representation is about 1-1/2 or 2% of the student body. Finally, it must be noted that there is a high degree of overlap in the applications of colored boys to Ivy schools, the applicant to Brown is likely to have applied to at least one other of our six colleges. Therefore, the success of Brown or Harvard will be largely at the expense of each other or the other Ivy institutions. The pool of highly qualified Negro candidates must be expanded rapidly if all the colleges are to secure more colored students simultaneously.

NEGROES ON THE CAMPUS: AN EVALUATION

Thus far this paper has dealt briefly with the problem of submerged talent and its relation to the Ivy League schools. We have seen that of the limited number of Negroes qualifying for admission to the nation's better liberal arts colleges, more of these boys have been attracted to certain of these colleges than

they have to others. Generally, the college's success or failure results from its traditions toward Negroes, together with the nature of their admissions procedures regarding Negroes. Sometimes an additional factor, such as Dartmouth's isolation from a sizeable colored community, apparently plays an important role.

Purposely disregarded until now has been a third general factor of considerable importance--the nature of the experience Negroes have had in recent years on the different campuses. Every Negro's experience with his Ivy college affects that school's ability to attract more Negroes. His example on the campus influences in a general way the nature of the reception given to future Negro students, while his personal feelings toward the school are likely to influence other colored people. True, after a period of years this third factor melds into (or modifies) the first, that of traditions. But for a time, while memories retain the detail of impressions, it maintains its own separate existence and affects the flow of Negro applications at least as much as does a school's tradition. If, for instance, a boy who is interested in Princeton knows that Negroes two or three years ahead of him are doing well there, he will not think a great deal about Princeton's policy of segregation lasting into the 1940's.* Obviously a campus which integrates a Negro fully and naturally into its life according to his particular abilities and desires has an advantage in attracting potential Negro students. Actually, this assumption does not always prove to be true, for one reason or another a Negro may prefer a less well-integrated

*Tradition would have its influence by making it less likely he would become interested in Princeton in the first place.

college. But here we are entering into uncharted waters; it is only safe to say that generally the better integrated colleges will attract more than an equal share of the Negro applicants. With this brief comment about the last of the three factors influencing the competition for the best qualified colored boys, we may shift our attention to a closer examination of the actual experiences of the colored students on the six campuses.

It is not difficult to understand why these experiences are so important apart from their influence on later Negro candidates. Upon a reasonably harmonious and profitable mutual association of whites and Negroes depends the justification for an integrated student body. Do the white students regard their Negro classmates as fellow students or as a minority to be ignored whenever possible? Do the Negro students participate in campus life with genuine enthusiasm or do they withdraw into a small clique of their own? Are these pressures and tensions associated with being a Negro in a largely white environment which make it harder to withstand normal academic pressures? Is there, in fact, a dilemma which incessantly confronts the Negro who surmounts every other difficulty--if he is to use his Ivy education to full advantage in the white-dominated society, he must compromise his associations with his own race?⁶² While it was profitable to discuss our six colleges separately in the section on traditions and admissions procedures, here it will be adequate to discuss Yale, Brown, Columbia and Dartmouth together after devoting primary attention to the Harvard and Princeton experiences.

⁶²Interview, Thomas Pettigrew, March 22, 1962

HARVARD

Since W. E. B. DuBois has vividly described his student days at Harvard in the nineteenth century, we may begin this account with remembrances of a Negro not in the present generation of Negro Harvard students.⁶³ Although DeBois later became an uncompromising fighter for integration, at Harvard he voluntarily chose his friends from the colored community and the few Negro students enrolled at the time. He could not regard Harvard as an island of fairness in a sea of hate. Discrimination against Negroes hurt him deeply, he felt comfortable only in the presence of Negroes and appreciated Harvard only for her library and her faculty. DuBois even lived off campus in the home of a colored widow and refused to eat his meals with his fellow students; he claimed he was happy because he accepted racial segregation.

Yet DuBois recognized he was an exception among Negro Harvard students:

I was, however, exceptional among Negroes at Harvard in my ideas on voluntary racial segregation. They for the most part saw salvation only in integration at the earliest moment and on almost any terms in white culture; I was firm in my criticism of white folks and in my dream of a self-sufficient Negro culture even in America.⁶⁴

Even the militant William Monroe Trotter happily involved himself in campus life; he later wistfully looked back upon "the Democracy which I had enjoyed at dear old Harvard."⁶⁵ The two different

⁶³W. E. B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn (New York, 1940), pp. 91-99. and DuBois, "A Negro Student at Harvard at the End of the 19th Century," Massachusetts Review, Spring 1960, pp. 439-58.

⁶⁴DuBois, "Negro Student at Harvard," op. cit., p. 443.

⁶⁵Class of 1895, Thirtieth Anniversary Report (Cambridge, 1929), p. 303.

approaches, voluntary segregation and willing integration, provide a contrast which exists in a less dramatic manner in the 1960's.

The Negroes who are in Harvard today are not, of course, all alike as if they were all cast from a single mold. Nor can every individual Negro be assigned categorically or finally into one of the three groups we shall develop in the following paragraphs. But for the purpose of analyzing Negro experiences on campus, it is important to establish these contrasting groups.

There are colored boys whose cultural and economic backgrounds seem to have "destined" them to come to Harvard much as would be the son of an old Beacon Hill family. These boys usually participate in College life without exhibiting continuous consciousness of their color. They are joined by a portion of the colored boys who have come from less well-endowed backgrounds. It is not meant to be implied that this first group seeks to deny its racial affiliation or refuses to associate with fellow Negro students. It simply means that these boys simply regard themselves primarily as individual Harvard students rather than as a part of the Negro minority at Harvard. They may participate in movements for race advancement such as the NAACP, but they would disavow such extreme responses as the Black Muslim movement. Race, in short, is an intellectual, not an emotional, question for this first group.

In order to be free of extreme consciousness of color, these boys must have a large measure of confidence in the possibility of integration or, more explicitly, in the opportunity for genuine ties of friendship with most white people. Harvard could not escape America's usual pattern of racial separation and

suspicion if a majority of either race believed she must inevitably closely reflect our society's racial tensions. Usually the boys who adapt well to integration have had at least some experience with it. They do not consider themselves "path-breakers" at Harvard, a circumstance which helps them appreciate the democratic features of the Harvard community.

The College exerts what pressure it can to encourage the integrative response described above. By increasing the Negro enrollment, any one Negro student now "sticks out" less and consequently, may shed excessive racial consciousness more easily. White roommates for the freshman year are very carefully chosen by College officials, and freshman advisors sympathetic to the special problems a Negro student may face are assigned to each colored boy.⁶⁶ A crucial factor in determining if a boy flourishes in Harvard's integrated atmosphere appears to be his participation during his first year in an activity in which he has a mutual interest with some fellow students.⁶⁷ One notable success is a colored senior who was elected Second Marshal of the Class of 1962.

A small proportion of the Negro student population seeks integration while divorcing itself nearly completely from associations with other Negroes.⁶⁸ Boys in this second group are likely to see a Harvard education as a panacea, a means by which they can

⁶⁶Interview, Briggs. ⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸A white senior, who has studied the Harvard Negro very intensively for his honors thesis, believes the number in this group is about ten of the forty-six now on campus. Interview, David Branon, Mar. 24, 1962. Several ideas concerning Negro Harvard men were developed with the help of a long conversation with Branon.

escape the confinement they find prejudice imposing upon their race. They are compelled to deny much that is in their background, they are defensive about being considered Negroes even though they remain very conscious of that fact. It may be said generally that members of this group suffer greater anxieties than do other Negro students, for instead of releasing the tensions they feel, they repress them. They do not necessarily fail to achieve their goal of integration; several have been quite successful in campus affairs. But the cost to them is great, it is impossible to have complete confidence that their adjustments to life away from Harvard are to be successful ones.

The third grouping, those Negroes who exhibit an alienation from the integrative approach of their fellows, comprise approximately a third of the colored boys enrolled at Harvard today. They are highly conscious of race and are doubtful that integration can be a reality, either in America or even at Harvard. They are disenchanted with the protest methods of the NAACP or Martin Luther King, and a few of them express sympathy with uncompromising Negro leaders such as Robert Williams or the radical Black Muslim organization. While it is doubtful that any Negro today segregates himself with the thoroughness of W. E. B. DuBois seventy years ago, this group can be called his spiritual heirs. The white friends they have made will normally be boys who are just as conscious of race as they are themselves.

A casual observer becomes aware of several indications that there are Negroes on the Harvard scene who are at least partially alienated from integration. There is a table in Lamont Library at which one may frequently see four or five Negroes

studying together. There is a somewhat larger group of Negro undergraduates often to be seen together about the Hayes-Bickford restaurant. Negroes may be seen walking together on the campus more often than one would expect on the basis of chance. None of these observations prove that these Negroes are alienated from their fellow students--some amount of mutual association is to be expected, much as would be association of boys from the same high school or distant state. But it is true that the above observations do indicate the existence of "we-they," in-group-out-group feeling on the part of some Harvard Negroes. It is from these boys for whom integration at Harvard is not complete that the racially more militant group is formed.

It should be emphasized again that a Negro student can shift from one of the groups described above to another during his undergraduate years. He can belong partially to at least two of the groups at one time. In which direction most changes take place or what the pattern of cross-group membership may be, is beyond the scope of this paper. It may be said, however, that while exposure to Harvard life seems to influence a colored boy toward less racial consciousness, the growing national impatience of Negroes with progress toward equal rights affects the colored Harvard man in the opposite manner.

Harvard has journeyed a long way on the path toward genuine integration. True, very few whites intuitively act wholly naturally with Negroes and "prejudice in reverse" may cause the colored student more discomfort than the few incidents of open discrimination he is likely to experience.⁶⁸ But at Harvard

⁶⁸Interview, Zeph Stewart, Mar. 9, 1962.

Negroes both possess and feel confidence to act without constant fear of or deference to their white colleagues. Many prefer or are compelled to seek integration while in the College, but those who do not are not considered social outcasts as they might be in other schools.

Harvard is not a perfect democracy, nor could she be one as part of a nation in which color discrimination plays such an important role. To some degree each Negro at Harvard is faced with a basic dilemma: Harvard may give her colored graduates the key to power and identity in American society, but in order to take full advantage of that opportunity, the graduate cannot easily maintain his ties with the Negro community. Integration is possible for these few with their superior education, but their good fortune will not immediately change the lot of the Negro race as a whole. Thus the Negro at Harvard will almost certainly carry a burden of anxiety no matter how well adjusted he is personally. A good adjustment at Harvard he knows will not guarantee equal success thereafter.* One experienced observer of the Harvard scene believes Negroes generally give evidence of repressed anxiety,⁶⁹ another says he has seldom seen a Negro who was not a problem to himself in some way.⁷⁰ In judging the adjustment of the Negro

*Branon found only one American Negro of the forty-six at Harvard today intends to work for a large business organization. The others thought in terms of the professions, where Negroes have long been represented. They seemed to feel they could be hurt after graduation, and sought to avoid likely clashes. One boy, however, wants to be a lawyer in Mississippi!

⁶⁹Interview, Charles Whitlock, Feb. 12, 1962.

⁷⁰Interview, Stewart.

minority, therefore, it is well to regard both hostility and protest as natural and justified. If they were not angry about prejudice, there would be cause to think of them as an apathetic group. Harvard has not found the means to complete integration, but she has been flexible enough to be receptive to a variety of responses to interracial association. No one is an outcast at Harvard because of his racial outlook.

PRINCETON

Because so few Negroes have gone to Princeton, white attitudes toward integration play a much larger role proportionally there than they do at Harvard. Whites at Harvard know they have many Negro classmates and integration, even interracial dating, is expected. But at Princeton white boys do not have so much experience with colored student peers and their reactions are not always so predictable.

The nature of the white student's attitude toward Negro students varies considerably. Some, of course, are plainly prejudiced and want no part of integration. They are the sort, for instance, who would most likely belong to one of the several eating clubs which would not consider a Negro for membership. Otherwise, there is very little they could do to express their feeling. To personally insult the Negro student, a white would be counter-acting the prevailing code of the student body against personal animosity toward another Princetonian. At one time a Tennessee boy expressed his feelings by successfully blocking a speaking engagement of Martin Luther King, but since then, King has made three or four speeches on the campus. Anti-Negro sentiment among the students, in short, does not seem to be a direct barrier of

much importance to integration on the campus.

Another small proportion of the students actively promote integration, but they find it almost as hard as the first group to practice their beliefs directly in regard to the Negro at Princeton. A few students did picket Woolworth's in Princeton in sympathy for the sit-ins then occurring in the South. Usually there are one or two white boys who are interested in finding ways to increase the Negro student enrollment. Several eating clubs in recent years have considered or have admitted Negroes and one colored senior is secretary of his club, which is one of the more respected of these institutions on Prospect Streets. Still, there is not very much those who favor integration can do to promote it. Certainly this group has not set the pattern for Princeton's treatment of the Negro any more than have those who favor segregation.

The vast majority of white Princeton students simply reflect the administration's apathy toward racial questions. They willingly enough extend a friendly reception to a Negro who happens to cross their path, a fact which in the long-run implies Princeton can make a successful adjustment to integration. But this apathetic majority does not perceive any need to question their school's pace toward meaningful integration. The roommate of one Negro student typified this group by saying he believed it would be discriminatory for the admissions officers to search for highly qualified Negro high school students. The attitude of this group is not noticeably different from that of most of their brothers in Harvard. The status quo they uphold, however, is not integration, but rather a sort of precarious "non-segregation."

The most obvious reaction of the Negro students to prevailing white racial attitudes at Princeton is one of fragmentation. There is very little mutual association among the few colored students. Apparently they fear that if they do associate frequently with each other, many students will isolate them into a small racial subgroup. Negroes at Princeton have rarely tried to deny their color. But they do not feel comfortable in taking a front-line position in the fight for integration, either at Princeton or with militant national movements. They could best be compared to the integrated group of the Harvard Negroes, except that they lack the freedom to express alienation when they feel it. Colored Princetonians have usually graduated with their full share of friendships. The price of incomplete integration at Princeton, however, must be assessed in other terms.

In recent years approximately a third of all the Negroes who have come to Princeton have been academic failures.* Has their intelligence level been too low to allow them to do the work? They would never have been admitted if it was. Can the blame be placed on inferior preparation in their secondary schools? Even if it was inferior, other boys who have had no better preparation usually survive academically. Is the problem one of poor motivation, of a lack of pride sufficient to carry the student past the obstacles he encounters? Here we seem to be nearer to the actual problem. But poor motivation and subdued pride almost inevitably accompany failure. The question may better be asked if there is some reason why a Negro on the Princeton

*The absolute number is only four.

campus is particularly prone to these pitfalls. It is suggested here--proof cannot be given--that the psychological pressure generated by and the repressed anxiety associated with being a Negro in an overwhelming white atmosphere sometimes cause a submergence of both pride and motivation. The boy does want to succeed, but he simply cannot do his best where he feels so insecure. He feels insecure because he never really believed he belonged at Princeton where people seemed so surprised to see his dark face on a campus so nearly wholly white.

It is difficult to generalize, of course, about the few Negroes who have attended Princeton. In addition to those who have not withstood the academic pace there have been colored boys who have done very well. There is, however, a less extreme kind of academic difficulty which may be related to a boy's feeling uncomfortable because of his race. In one striking instance a Negro boy did not reach anywhere near his scholastic potential because he concentrated on becoming "more Princeton than Princeton"--that is to say he was more conscious of the Princeton high-society type image than were most of his schoolmates. This boy had superior aptitude ratings, stood near the top of his largely white high school, and had served as Boy Governor of an Eastern state. He wanted to enter the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton which is a particularly demanding undergraduate field of concentration. But he fell far short of the required standard largely because he dissipated his time and energies in a variety of social and extracurricular affairs.* This pattern, of course, is not

*The climax came when he imported a girl from Chicago for a weekend date and was thereby included in an Ebony magazine cover story. Ebony, Feb. 1958, p. 40.

wholly uncommon among undergraduates. But in this instance, the student seemed to be motivated primarily by a desire to "prove" he belonged at Princeton despite his color. His color made the price for the social recognition he craved very high. To pay it, he had to sacrifice a portion of his potential academic achievement.

YALE, DARTMOUTH, COLUMBIA, BROWN

To thoroughly understand the standing of Negroes in a college, it is necessary to spend considerable time on the campus developing impressions and testing those of others. There are few shortcuts available such as the careful study of Harvard Negroes by David Branon. Our search too easily becomes one for "good" or "bad" features which supposedly make one campus "better" for Negroes than another. Actually, the same setting may favor one boy and put another at a disadvantage. There are many variables besides the school's racial atmosphere which affect a colored boy's life for his four years--his temperament, interests, ambitions, and his luck during his first days on the campus must all be accounted for in considering his experience. The best that can be done in the absence of more detailed study of these four campuses is a short, generalized discussion of white and Negro reactions to an integrated college life typical of those of Yale, Brown, Dartmouth, and Columbia. No attempt will be made to grade each of the four schools according to its reception of the Negro.

Dartmouth, Brown, Yale, and Columbia have had integrated student bodies for many years. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that white freshmen automatically acquire an unprejudiced and unselfconscious approach toward their Negro fellows upon their

first arrival. The majority, coming from middle and upper-middle class homes, have had few close contacts with Negroes. Few come from the South--none of the four schools has a Southern representation of more than 6 to 8%--and positive color prejudice is not a particularly obvious response even from those whose homes are in former Confederate states. Instead, the dominant prejudice is more social and economic with color being assumed to be a sign of inferiority under those terms. As one Negro at Brown said, there is "a very subtle type of discrimination; something you feel rather than see."⁷¹ This prejudice is not likely to hurt the Negro who is self-confident, but it may be a considerable burden on the boy who is sensitive.

The reactions of the Negro students attending the four colleges seem to have the same range as those we noted at Harvard. Most seem to ignore purely social discriminations and enter into campus activities as energetically as do their white fellows. Some impose segregation upon themselves and a few seek to abandon their race entirely. A statement by Janice Porter at Brown might be applied equally well to the other three colleges:⁷²

I think that most Negro students at Brown have been happy and have left their experience was a positive one. It has been my impression, however, that a few students felt that becoming an integral part of the student body could not be accomplished with ease.

⁷¹Brown Daily Herald, Oct. 18, 1961, n.p.

⁷²Ibid., Oct. 16, 1961, n.p.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Since the end of World War II there has been a vast increase in the number of persons who believe the racial composition of their colleges should no longer be left entirely to chance. Their interest has been in developing new patterns of integration, making integration so effective that no one any longer considers the Negro student a "special ambassador" of his race. Why should they wish to speed integration at a pace faster than it otherwise would go? There are several reasons.

Most frequently cited is the belief that it benefits white students to associate with Negroes who are their intellectual equals. If white boys remain ignorant about Negro capabilities and reproduce the prejudices of their parents, it is thought they will be considerably less useful citizens. Accompanying this first reason why integration should be hastened is the conviction that a Negro boy who graduates from an integrated private college gains a better education than he would at a large state school or a segregated college. There is the hope that the highest educational standards will thereby be spread among a sector of the American population previously neglected for the most part. Furthermore, many men in higher education have a firm belief that it is the responsibility of colleges to provide an example of progress in race relations. They know there can be no color line, real or fancied, in a true intellectual community and they would not want their schools to be saddled with a reputation for discrimination.

There are many persons who oppose special efforts to attract more applicants from a particular group. They feel it is

unfair to other candidates for admission to add to the number of qualified candidates competing for the limited number of openings in prestige colleges. They believe colleges have no duty to be leaders in integration and feel that a "natural" pace is preferable to a forced pace no matter what be the circumstances. Finally they are not as concerned as to whether or not white boys experience Negroes as intellectual equals.

The first group can reply to the second that special consideration is already given to alumni sons and that the whole recruiting process favors the boy who goes to a suburban high school or a private preparatory school. They can say that for a time it is necessary to give special attention to locating Negro candidates merely to make their chances equal to those of middle and upper-middle class white youth. The crucial factor in a college's decision to seek out qualified Negro candidates is the perception of its leaders that without a special effort the colored representation in the student body will remain too small to effectively integrate the campus.

In the author's opinion it is entirely legitimate for a college to attempt to increase its Negro student enrollment. He would be happy to see his own undergraduate school, Princeton, reach the level of integration already attained by the five other colleges. But the future of really effective integration on all the campuses depends on a significant expansion of the pool of qualified Negro candidates available today.

The pool will be expanded when the programs to identify and develop intelligent young people from deprived environments become more widespread. Our colleges should do even more than they

do today to encourage these programs. One means available to them would be to ask their own alumni groups to support local talent development programs. Another would be for the colleges themselves to promote Higher Horizon type plans in their own state or region.

Because no college has a staff big enough to visit very many high schools which do not often send a graduate to a prestige college, the talented youngster who attends such a school is likely to be forgotten. What is necessary is a cooperative effort by several institutions in hiring a staff whose duty it would be to locate submerged talent for the subscribing private colleges. This plan has often been suggested but never implemented, possibly because the admissions men themselves are suspicious of it.⁷³ If it could be worked out, it would surely directly increase the number of Negroes found qualified to attend our nation's best private colleges.

⁷³Interview, J. S. Coles, Apr. 17, 1962.

APPENDIX

Letter from Edward T. Chamberlain, Jr., Director of Admissions, Dartmouth College, to author March 19, 1962.

. . . I can understand why and how you have reached some of the conclusions you reach. Certainly no Negro can be considered as though he weren't a Negro if we know he is a Negro. Neither can it be stated that a boy from Hanover High School can be considered as not from Hanover High School and a boy from Phillips Exeter Academy as not being from Phillips Exeter Academy when we know these identifications.

In other words, I suspect that you are here confusing what I would classify as "policy" and what one must have to assume is administrative application of policy or simply administrative discretion vis-a-vis any kind of candidate. In other words, we have as a policy that we do not favor public or private school candidates. And we do not. However, we do have to take into account the relative differences between some private schools and some public schools as well as schools within the group. Neither do we have a policy of favoring, or the opposite, boys who come from wealthy families or poor families. However, in interpreting data we certainly have to take into account the background from which a boy comes. If he comes from a slum situation in Boston or Chicago or a backward situation in the heartland of the south, his capacity to do the work at Dartmouth College must certainly be weighed administratively in a different way from the boy who has come from a cultured background and who has attended the best possible preparatory schools and who has had all the "advantages."

Thus, in considering an application from a Negro, we certainly have to weigh the background from which he comes and have some appreciation of the kind of problem which he must face if he is thrust into an environment in which he is inevitably bound to be noticed because of his being a Negro and in full appreciation of some of the problems which, whether real or imagined, Negro boys carry around with them as they are struggling toward recognition, academic success and indeed as they struggle for their places in the sun.

If administrative interpretation of these kinds of factors comes out as some kind of policy - I can't quarrel with that. But whatever way you choose to interpret it, at least at Dartmouth our administrative interpretation of these data with respect to Negro students is that we wish to give the Negro student absolutely equal opportunity with anyone else, and, as a

matter of fact, I know we bend over backward to help Negroes if they can show any capacity at all for handling the work at a place like Dartmouth College - but, again, this is not an accepted or stipulated general policy. Our policy is to treat all candidates alike regardless of race, creed, color, belief, geographical location or what have you; trying, however, to offer an opportunity to those boys whose intellectual capacity, personal qualifications and steadfastness of purpose seem to indicate that they, better than some other boy, would be able to avail themselves of the opportunities here at Dartmouth College.